

South African Leaders and Non-Racialism

Interview with Ahmed Kathadra

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1. *What is your understanding of the historical roots (pre-94) of non-racialism?*

You have to look at the background of the Congress organisations historically. Historically different laws applied to different groups, from Indians to Coloureds and black Africans. The Natal Indian Congress was formed in 1894, before the ANC. Indians organised against the laws that applied only to them. 1902 the APO, a Coloured organisation was formed. This was in response to laws that affected Coloureds. In response to the proposed Land Act, which came in 1913, the ANC was formed in 1912. On and off these organisations had informal contact. For example, Gandhi, during his 21 years in South Africa had contact with Dube before the ANC was founded.

After Gandhi departed the Indian Congress fell into conservative hands. They became more interested in business interests, and followed a politics of deputations and resolutions. It was no longer a mass organisation.

In the late 30's Indians and non-whites were not easily admitted into South African medical schools. Those that had left to train overseas started returning in the late 30s to South Africa, including Dr Dadoo, who had communist party connections. His first focus was to start a social movement with the aim of encouraging Indian parents to educate females. He tried to discourage parents from having expensive weddings, and here he failed. But with the former, girls gradually came to be educated.

Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker arrived at the same time in South Africa and started a movement with the Indian Congress to influence a change of policy. In 1938 Dr Dadoo formed the non-European United Front (NEUF). It was a non-racial organisation, but focussed on non-Europeans. It wanted the full franchise and democratic rights for all people. It had a counter-part in the Western Cape. It saw the war in Europe as an imperialist war and so opposed it.

The NEUF was a small organisation and was not opposed to the ANC. The ANC was still conservative with African leadership. In 1940 Dr Dadoo was imprisoned for opposing the war. Dr Dadoo was the first leader of the Congresses to be imprisoned. Seedat was also jailed.

In 1943 there was the first boycott of buses, from Alexandra to Johannesburg. It was the first major mass campaign. Dr Dadoo was one of the leaders involved in this. He marched with people and there was a clear influence from the NEUF.

Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker continued to work within the Indian Congress. They supported the Gandhian method (although not the Gandhian philosophy). They formed the Nationalist group in the Indian Congress. This was the platform of non-European Unity.

Between 1945 and 1946 the older leaders of the Indian Congress were replaced, in both the Transvaal and Natal. They did not even contest the new elections. 1000's elected Dr Naicker in the Transvaal and Dr Dadoo in Natal, on a platform of non-European Unity.

There was at this time a land tenure and Indian Representation Act that further restricted Indians. The representation part involved setting up a board that would have Indian representatives, who would then be represented by two white representatives in Parliament. Volunteers were called to defy this new law. The boycott against this was so successful that no white person would represent the board. It was so successful that it had an influence on the ANC. The boycott had an emphasis on non-racialism but no call was made to get others to join in. The majority of support for the boycott was from Natal.

The platform on non-European Unity had a major impact on the thinking of younger ANC people. The doctors pact of Unity with Dr Xuma representing the ANC, Dr Naicker and Dr Dadoo was the first formal non-racial act of unity. *(This declaration of co-operation was considered 'imperative for the working out of a practical basis of co-operation between national organisations of the non-European peoples'. Today the Pact is seen as an epochal agreement that has played a major role in the liberation struggle. The pact set the scene for the Congress of the People (held in Kliptown 25-26 June 1955) which adopted the Freedom Charter. Today, the Charter remains the basic manifesto of the liberation struggle. <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/HIST/dadooxuma/pact.htm>)* The ANC Youth League (Mandela etc.) opposed this idea.

In 1950 there was a move to ban the Communist Party. The CP, Indian Congress and ANC called a strike in the Transvaal against the idea of banning the CP. At this time the ANCYL held the view that black Africans should fight alone. They were anti the CP, but were only non-cooperative with the

Indians. The strike was successful. *(In 1950 the apartheid government introduced the Unlawful Organisation bill and later the Suppression of Communism bill. In March 1950 the African National Congress (Transvaal), the Communist Party of South Africa, the Indian Congress and the African People Organisation organised a "Freedom of Speech Convention" in Johannesburg. The Convention was called to protest the Suppression of Communism bill and a ban imposed on Dr. Dadoo and Sam Khan prohibiting them from speaking in certain cities. 500 delegates attended the Convention and 10.000 people attended the rally afterwards. At the convention it was decided that a series of protests marches and meetings would be held across the country culminating in a national "stay at home" on the 1st May.*

The ANC youth league viewed the call for the stay at home on 1st of May as undermining their own plan to for a general strike on 1st May and actively set about disrupting meetings held by the Convention organizers. In response to the 1st May call to "Stay at Home", the government banned all meetings and sent police reinforcements to Johannesburg. However, the protest went on and on 1 May the police attacked gatherings of protesters. For the first time since the 1921 Bulhoek Massacre the police opened fire on the protesters killing 18 and wounding 30 people.

The Suppression of Communism Act was to be approved in Parliament shortly after, and the CPSA was forced to dissolve. The then ANC President, Dr J.S Moroka, called an emergency meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee. The Committee decided that, for the first time in the Party's history the ANC would call for a day of mourning and a general strike on 26 June 1950 in protest of the 1 May killings and the Suppression of Communism Act. This call was supported by the African People's Organisation and the South African Indian Congress. Since this nation-wide protest, June 26 has been observed annually by the African National Congress and allied organisations as South Africa Freedom Day.

Since the 1950 protests, many of the campaigns of the liberation movement have been launched on this day. The historic Defiance Campaign against unjust laws in which 8,000 people went to jail was inaugurated on 26 June 1952.

It was this campaign that led to the consideration of apartheid by the United Nations General Assembly. The Congress of the People, with nearly 3 000 representatives from the ANC and Indian, Coloured and White organizations, was also held on 26 June in 1955 and adopted the "Freedom Charter" which represents the aspirations and demands of the people of South Africa. Subsequently all the members of the Congress Alliance adopted the Freedom Charter in their national conferences as their official program. That historic document declared that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white" and that "no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." Since 1994 Freedom Day has been celebrated on 27 April, in commemoration of the first democratic elections held in South Africa in 1994.

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/anc-calls-day-protest-and-observes-day-039south-africa-freedom-day039-first-time>)

After this the opposition by the YL to joint work was over. There were also small white groups in support of passive resistance but on a small scale. The 26th of June is still observed in Congress history. It is a national day for all Congresses.

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was the first major non-racial campaign. It was jointly led by the Indian and African Congresses. They all went to jail together in Boksburg. There were 50 volunteers who defied pass laws. Madiba was the national volunteer in chief and his deputy was Cachalia. The campaign spread to P.E and Natal etc. 9000 volunteers went to prison.

The next Congress of the People was in 1955. It was organised jointly by all Congresses. Invitations were sent out to all. Some (liberals) withdrew because they said the meeting was communist. There were 3000 delegates. The Freedom Charter was a major element in non-racialism. At this time the ANC was relatively small, only about 5000. The defiance campaign catapulted it to 100 000. It was a major turning point.

In 1954 the leaders led from the front. The 1st volunteers were leaders who were banned from taking part in campaigns. They would attend meetings that were non-racial.

ANC in Exile

The policy of the ANC became formally non-racial at the Morogoro Conference.

(The Morogoro Consultative Conference, held from 25 April to 1 May 1969, was a watershed in the history of the African National Congress and its partners in the Congress movement. According to an official statement, the conference was attended by more than 70 leaders and delegates representing 'ANC branches, units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, leaders of the Indian and coloured peoples and of the revolutionary working class movements'.¹ Delegates assembled in the Tanzanian town to review the 'policy, strategy, leadership structure and style of work of the movement'.² By the end of the conference, a number of resolutions had been passed on strategy and tactics, as well as on the structure of the ANC. http://www.sadet.co.za/docs/RTD/vol1/SADET1_chap14.pdf – see section on non-racialism.)

FW: We're still talking about non-racialism.

AK – So that was the first, non-racial action, just to go a little bit back to 46 passive resistance. In the Transvaal and Natal, in favour of the foundation were small white groups, Transvaal was called Congress of Democratic Rights, and Natal was something similar, I can't remember the name now, but there was a man the Reverend Michael Scott, who actually went to prison, within the Indian passive resistance campaign. So again on a very small scale, there was participation by whites, by Africans, and of course on the platform we had the support of the ANC as well. But that's moving back. We're talking about the 1950s. The strike in the Transvaal, the national day of protest was on the 26th of June, now you'll find in the congress history, the 26th June is still observed, because after 1950, the 1952 defiance campaign was also on the 26th June, that became a national day for all the congresses. But the first major non-racial thing jointly was the defiance campaign of 1952, organised jointly by the ANC and the South African Indian Congress. 6 laws were identified, and people were called upon to defy these laws and go to jail. On the 26th June 1950, the first batch of volunteers in Boksburg, African and Indian volunteers, you know in those days the African townships were called locations, and they were fenced. And you could only have entrance through certain gates, and anybody entering who didn't live there needed a pass, you know. But in 1952 in Boksburg, it was jointly led by Walter Sisulu, and a man called Nana Sisa, member of the SAIC. And then some African volunteers, about 50, who went to jail together

in Boksburg. That very night, on the 26th June, now here it had to be only African, because the curfew which prohibited Africans from being on the street after 9 o'clock, in urban areas after 11 o'clock. So these volunteers were 50 who defied the curfew, and went to prison. But that campaign as a whole was a joint campaign with the ANC and the IC. Mandela was the national chief, from the ANC, and his first deputy was Molwe Kachalwa from the Indian Congress. So these volunteers went to prison, naturally because of the population, the Indian population was very small. So the majority of the volunteers was African. But that campaign spread, not only to the Transvaal, it was in Natal, in Cape Town, and all in all, about 9000 volunteers went to prison in that campaign. So that's non-racialism. The next thing comes the Congress of the people, 1955. This was organised jointly by the congresses. Of course invitations were sent out to all organisations, including the nationalist party. The liberal party at first showed an interest, it was basically a white organisation, I don't even know if it had a black membership at that time, they first came into it and then withdrew because they said it was communist. So the liberal party withdrew. In the end, the organizers of the Congress of the people, were the communist organisations, but the gathering at Kliptown consisted of members from numerous organisations from the country, I think about 3000 delegates took part in that, that's where the Freedom Party was drawn up. The campaign for the Freedom Charter of course, was all about non-racialism. What the important thing I should have mentioned is, the ANC, although it was a national organisation, it was relatively tiny. It hardly had functioning offices, but that catapulted with the Defiance campaign, I think the national membership catapulted from I think 5000, to 100 000. So that was a major turning point in the ANC's strength. There are a lot of readings about how the congress of the people was organised. That is more research, mine is memory. We were, by that time, the banning had already started. 1952 already the first 4 leaders were banned, and that was another important development. Leaders led from the front, so 1952 defiance campaign, the first volunteers were leadership people who were banned from taking part in gatherings. What they did is before 26 June, when the defiance campaign was formally launched, they were called upon to defy their ban by attending meetings. So they were arrested before the campaign officially started. So again, it was multi-racial leadership.

FW: And do you think that these understandings between the congress parties, the congress of the people, and the early days of the non-europeans united movement, that those understandings of non-racialism, how do you think they have translated today?

AK: Well, the entire policy of the ANC and the other organisations prior to the, and again it's a matter of dealing with the moral consequences of the ANC, who for the first time opened their membership to non-Africans. So again different laws applied to different groups, so you had these congresses working together in alliance. But policy since then, I don't know when the term non-racialism, non-sexist democratic South Africa, I can't remember when that was introduced. Certainly in the defiance campaign of 1952, where in the Transvaal 28 people were arrested, and they were a mixed group. African leaders, Indians, Coloured to. No whites, in that group. But 1953, as a result of the influence of the defiance campaign, the congress of democrats came into being, that was a white party. Also the Coloured people started a party, it was first called the Coloured people's association, but then it became the Coloured people's congress. So that was an important background about non-racialism, but the term, non-racialism, again you'll have to check, came through in the freedom charter, because the treason trial was based on the freedom charter. So there you will have to do a little bit of research. And then as you know the treason trial of 1956, that was from all over South Africa, all communities. The largest group of course was Africans, but then there were Indians, and Coloureds, and whites. And again, to cut that story short, the treason trial lasted for over 4 years, but from 58 onwards, from 146, there were only 30 who went on trial, and those 30 were also mixed. I mean Helen Joseph was there,

she was white. Coloureds, but the treason trial right up to 1961, when we were all acquitted, again it was a mixed group. Now there will be literature if you want to find it.

FW: I suppose what we are interested in now, is how you think today non-racialism is understood, in the ANC but also more broadly.

AK: Well I mean, we came into government in 1994, it was on the platform of non-racialism, that is how the ANC was elected. And of course, at various levels, nationally, provincially and locally, there are mixed, I can only speak for national parliament, I don't know what the position is in local government, Cape, I don't know, Northern Cape I think they have. So that's the implementation, but one has to take that further, but although the term may not be used, when you talk about integration at universities, integration at schools, in sports. Of course sports took a much needed role even before the ANC formally accepted this, sport came first. So the implementation is there, at various levels in society. Whether I consider it successful or not, I can't, I basically don't, I mean I slowed down in 1997 from the national executive, I only served one term of parliament and then stepped down again. So I haven't been very active, so there I can't speak further. That's for you to research. And there you are going to have different views.

FW: If you had to describe what you would see as being the ideal non-racial society, what would you see as key features, as an ideal non-racial society in practice?

AK : Well all of course came out with different, came from prison with different ideas, because we were completely divorced with what was happening outside. What inspired us very much was the formation of the United Democratic Front, which was after the defiance campaign, but much bigger than the defiance campaign. It was 600 different organisations, and that is where you had participation of all groups all over the country.

FW: And that kind of working together across the races on a very broad level is something you would see as key?

AK: Yes. 600 organisations. There were white organisations affiliated to the UDM, and of course the IC was part of the the UDM. But even without the political affiliation, on the community level, there were various organisations on the community level. But one must also take into account that particularly, even before the group areas act in 1950, there were different areas. Africans were of course all around, not only in Soweto, they called it locations, and those were closed areas, physically fenced in. So what I'm getting at, is then came the Indians and Coloureds, were also segregated, but not necessarily in such separate areas, there would be a scattering of whites even, particularly in the Cape. But then came the Group Areas Act, and that established group areas, for Indians, for Coloured, and although they were not fenced in, and in Soweto they tried to have areas of Soweto for Zulus, for Sothos, that's what they tried to do. So these areas also had the very negative effect of stereotypes. Because of media and so forth, and because people were no longer living side by side, and Sophiatown and so forth, neighbours, you don't think that neighbour is your friend and so forth. African segregation, in Sophiatown for example. Otherwise Africans were generally in the locations. But Western areas were quite mixed, in the Western Cape especially. I mean I spent a month in Cape Town in 1949, and I didn't see an African, and that is because national policy has always been that the western cape is a Coloured preference area. So what I am getting at really is that these laws were responsible for stereotypes, so you had a whole generation of young Africans growing up in the townships, with the stereotype of all Indians are

rich. In the Indian areas, you would have Indians growing up thinking all Africans are criminals, because of the media. I mean, of course I'm exaggerating, but you can't dismiss this.

These were impediments to non-racialism. The UDF succeeded to a large extent in getting people out of the townships and taking part. I would say, and I agree with people who regret that the UDF was discontinued. After the ANC was unbanned. Because I don't think that the ANC have succeeded as an organisation, I don't think the ANC, although its open to all members, I don't think its succeeded to the extent that the UDF succeeded, in mobilizing all communities under one banner.

FW: Why do you think it hasn't succeeded?

AK: Well, I can't say why the ANC did not succeed. It needs a lot of research, and people may have their views, but I don't think there is one acceptable view.

FW: Some more concrete questions, how do you think policies such as affirmative action or BEE, have influenced the building of a non-racial society.

AK: Well, there was nothing wrong with the policy. I don't disagree with the policy. We came into government on the understanding that a priority is for the neediest of the needy, in fact the most oppressed, and the most oppressed were the African people, the majority. So there's nothing wrong with the policy, it was the implementation where things were not done properly. Because it became more and more explosive. When we talked of BEE and so forth, there is nothing there to say we should have been all people who were formerly oppressed, it has become basically a black African thing. It was meant to be all formerly oppressed people, Africans, Coloureds, Indians, the term itself has been applied more and more to black Africans. Today, the term black is used in its general sense as it was supposed to be. And there one must take into account a very important thing, the rise of the black consciousness movement when the ANC became legal. Whereas the black consciousness movement excluded the whites, but its term black was the term of the ANC understanding as well, and that was that it was supposed to be all groups. So the term black has narrowed now, not deliberately, but because the policies still remain. But even in the ANC leadership, sometimes people inadvertently use the term black, but policy wise it hasn't changed. SO BEE and affirmative action, this term has not been properly used, particularly in your BEE. Now affirmative action, that I can't comment, cause again I'm not familiar, I mean there's been quite an outcry about it. Africans had to have a certain percentage pass rate to be admitted into universities, Indians had to have a certain pass rate. Now my gut feeling is against it, but one can't have a gut feeling without taking into account the situation on the ground, so I'm not familiar with that.

FW: In terms to continuing to build a non-racial society, what do you think the role of different elements such as the media, or religion, or parties themselves, or education play in building a non-racial society.

AK: Education can play a very big role. I don't know the syllabus of schools, but I wish that whoever is responsible for the syllabus, that they start right from the beginning this whole policy of teaching kids non-racialism, and it's the easiest because kids don't know colour. I mean we have these two little white kids and my granddaughter, she comes to play with them. They don't know who is white. So that's basically where it should start. It should start at home of course, parents should be educated also, because they can play a major part. Its happening in sport, in all the soaps, I mean I watch Isidingo religiously, and now and then by accident on other soaps I see its very non-racial. And people may

dismiss it, but I don't. Even the soaps, like generations and backstage and whatever, in their own way they influence non-racialism. They don't have to call it that, but hey can practice.

So non-racialism is making progress. I can remember a time while we were in prison in Pretoria, now Pretoria was notorious, if I had to walk into the court, with a white woman, or even a women who looked white, I would be in danger. In Joburg I could do that, in Pretoria I would be assaulted. I remember from my personal experience. Just one example comes to mind, a friend of mine from Pretoria, she's Coloured, but there is absolutely nothing that shows she's Coloured, she looks white. And we were walking home at night, from my place. And we couldn't walk two blocks and there came out a crowd of young whites, who wanted to stop and assault us. But fortunately we managed to evade them, but that was one of many experiences. But that has gone. Even before we came out of prison, some things were open. Some hotels and resorts were open. I mean I saw physically the inside of a proper restaurant and hotel, only in Europe, I didn't see it in South Africa. Libraries you can't even talk of, because there weren't any libraries. Restaurants and hotels in South Africa, I saw it for the first time at the age of 60, when I came out of prison. But now it is completely open, and I found it difficult to adjust. I found that younger people in my own family thought they had freedom already, before freedom came, because of these little integrations. But these are little things, but not things that can be ignored, because now you are seeing black and white couples, they don't draw that attention anymore. I, for a long time, the years and years of separation, now it doesn't make any difference, you see these people arm in arm and you don't even notice anymore. So little things like that have happened. But it's difficult to measure, you know. Its individual things that we see.

FW: I think its fascinating to see how much things have changed, because you know being younger we don't really realize how much has changed, we just focus on the challenges that remain.

AK: Yes, you raise a very good point because one of the things I keep on going on about in our foundation, is that you people are relying too much on statistics, I'm not a great believer in all this, they don't take into account what we are talking about. And they have a great influence, otherwise they would be a failure, and they don't take into account the day to day things that are happening.

FW: My last question really is, I feel very positive about what you've said, it's great to hear that, but to ask on the other hand, what do you think are still existing challenges.

AK: The challenges? I think the major challenges are ignorance, especially among young people of all groups, ignorance of the past. From June 16 this year, I must have spoken at about 8 different groups, mixed groups, some predominantly African, others quite mixed. And these were not thousands of people, but the ignorance was amazing. People would ask a question, didn't know that Indians were in the struggle, it happened in Cape Town, it happened here.

FW: It just makes your question what's going on in the education system, in the sense that how could people not have known that?

AK: Exactly. They don't know that, and that's why I say ignorance is a very big challenge. Unless we are able to deal with this challenge. I mean I give an extreme example, because I think of a university couple, Coloured, and they lived in Cape Town and came here. And this young chap asked me, he said I know you were in prison, for how long. And I said, 16 years. And he laughed and said, were you in for murder? And that's ignorance, you know. And this is how many years, 10, 15 years after democracy. Now that's an extreme example, but to a lessor extent you come across this over and over again. I was invited to take part in something the business school runs in Cape Town, on June 16, it was what they

called a group of 8 so called elders, they were sitting a circle, and then there were concentric circles of youth, of all groups, 3 or 4 different circles. And the first thing is the young people were asking questions to the elders, and then the elders had to ask the young people, and there again was ignorance, quite explicit ignorance. We thought only Africans were in the struggle.

FW: And can be done to address this problem?

AK: Well, that's where a little foundation like ours comes in. But it has to be replicated over and over again in various forms. It is doing very good work, I must say, but its just one small contribution. But it can do, it doesn't have to be confined to, through the foundation we get invited to all these things, events and so forth, and that is where we'd like to take the message.

FW: And are there any other particular challenges that come to mind?

AK: I think that the challenge comes not only in confronting the youth, that's the biggest challenge, but also in the home. Not enough is being done by parents.

FW: And what would that look like, in a home setting, what would you say, in a personal way, what can parents do more?

AK: I mean, I grew up, I was born in a rural area, and every religion thinks it is the best, it is the superior. In our home, the chef was a Somali. Pitch black. But because he was a Muslim, he's more equal than an African, also black. But this guy, because he is a Muslim, is treated as an equal. And that's how I was brought up, but fortunately I learnt quickly as young chap, in the young communist league and stuff like that. So churches, religious organisations, can play a very important role. Because all religions believe in equality. I was, I had just come back from Berlin where there was this world cultural festival, they maintain it was not religious, but thousands of people took part, 18 000 people, thousands of others. The emphasis there was, they didn't call it non-racialism, it was more equality.

FW: That's interesting, because equality is really another way at looking at non-racialism.

AK: And I was travelling with two chaps, and they told me fascinating stories, and they were activists in the earlier years, but they told me things about their activities in the struggle that I didn't know about. I didn't know about that particular group of people in Natal. But again, coming back to the home situation, you know the oppression of domestic workers, its almost universal. So much so that we need a conference of domestic workers, the majority of domestic workers are African. And I consider it to be the most important, of all of them, racially, because whites are belonging to the so-called superior groups. And they get horribly exploited. I mean I had an experience with an Indian domestic worker, I could take it up, but no one would encourage me to take it up, there is no tribunal. Terrible terrible exploitation, I mean this lady worked 7 days a week without a day off. I could track down this chap, but she is going to lose her job and she needs it. So again we come back to the home situation. And it's not only the Indians who are exploited. I speak about Indians because I know that community, but its Africans too.

FW: Is there anything else you want to add on the challenges?

AK: You know, culture and sports are major fields we can contribute to. You don't have to keep on stressing non-racialism, because some people think about that relating to politicians, and politicians are not always very popular. So one doesn't have to reach out to people stressing the word non-racialism, the same message can be carried out, of course it has to be done deliberately, it can't depend on

chance, but the same message can be implemented in sports and culture. Those are the biggest fields where it can be reached out to people, and very seldom do you have racial problems in these areas.

FW: Well that takes us on to the last question, what do you think the foundation should focus on in its work, to try and build a non-racial community.

AK: I think the foundation is going about it. First of all, in an area where the target group is, we must focus. Lenasia was the first place in South Africa where even before legally, schools were opened up, and it was illegal, but the liberation had progressed to a point where the government had to turn a blind eye. And now every single school in Lenasia is no longer Indian, the majority are African, they come in their thousands, from the informal settlements, from Soweto. And that is one of our target areas because there you have the young people. It's not as easily replicated elsewhere, but the foundation is still a baby, and it has to concentrate on what is there. SO it has to find ways and means, but at the moment because it can't offer much it did have this festival. And every activity there was mixed. And then of course the thing that happened closed door, the cultural thing, was completely mixed. 2000 young people. Very mixed. So that type of activity can happen, and the it should take full advantage of these invitations we are getting, to send speakers. My complaint is that they shouldn't send me along all the time, but fortunately now others are going to speak, to carry the message. But its indirect, you know, what I'm saying is that cultural activities, that is the way to get to the younger people.

FW: That;s great. Is there anything else you want to add.

AK: Not really. I was told to just answer questions.

FW: But its excellent, that's great stuff, thank you very much.

JS: Do you mind if I throw a question at you – I mean its about the issue of class struggles in South Africa. The class struggle, in building a non-racial society, I mean things have changed, there is a more integrated society, but there are still very strong division in class. Surely to build a non-racial society we have to overcome such things. What is your opinion on such matters?

AK: Well, that is what in this country we are talking about. But you have a problem here, in apartheid, where policy and you are unashamedly saying that South Africa belongs to the whites, 87%, although black Africans are the majority. But they are labourers. And that is what Verwoerd said. Verwoerd said black people are labourers. Labourers don't need science. Don't need maths. So you had the situation where African schools didn't have that. Except the church schools. I don't know how, that is a thing that needs to be investigated, because there must be some Africans who did have mathematics, from the church schools. But Bantu education, by and large.. So what I'm really getting at, is Coloureds and Indians, who didn't have that discrepancy, so you have in job situations, people who are unqualified people, and there are not enough Africans who have got that expertise yet. Through no fault of theirs, I mean it is this bantu education. I mean you do not have enough African teachers, you know, for those subjects. Teachers themselves have to be educated. And in every way, African education was inferior. Coloured and Indian education was also inferior to whites, but they were much better equipped than African schools. So what happens is it creates this racial divide. Because now everything is opened up, and employers want the best person, the most qualified person. And in many cases, and I may be generalizing, I don't have statistics for that, but I think it just makes sense that you have these people who have had education, whites Coloured, Indians, and employers want the best qualified. So it becomes a racial issue. An African applies for the same job, but he or she is not as qualified. You still do

not have a situation where, like it should be that in every sector in society the majority are black Africans, but you can't have that. Simply because we have had the education. The years of equal education haven't happened yet, you can't provide that in 15 years. I mean you find democracies that are much much older, still having problems. I mean America – the biggest democracy. You have African Americans who were made equal in the 1950s, and still now, 50 years later, you have problems. But your best example was the world cup. You know, the whole of South Africa united, and you could see that. I mean when the Blue Bulls went to Soweto, it was an eye opener for them, and for people who were there. They saw that people were living in houses – they didn't know that. And so they stayed. That's what sports did.

FW: I do a lot of research in Soweto, and whenever I come back, they have such strange views, on how did you get back safely, and it's so hard to explain. That's the stereotype, you know, crossing the boundaries. Thank you so much for your time, more time than we usually ask for.